THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
1891 FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY · 1941

10 CENTS

ROUND TABLE

A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

The Effect of the BLITZKRIEG on the Economic Order

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no. 164 - 164

HERMAN FINER · WILLIAM SPENCER · THEODORE YNTEMA

376th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 164

MAY 4, 1941

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; half-year subscription, 26 issues, one dollar. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

No. 164

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

The Effect of the BLITZKRIEG on the Economic Order

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

HERMAN FINER, Visiting Professor of Political Science from the London School of Economics, University of London

WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Dean of the School of Business; Professor of Business Law

THEODORE O. YNTEMA, Professor of Statistics; Director of Research, Cowles Commission

[ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO FACULTY]

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago, over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, May 4, 1941, at 1:30 P.M., Central Daylight Saving Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

The Effect of the BLITZKRIEG on the Economic Order

MR. SPENCER: As a distinguished British scholar, Dr. Finer, Yntema and I welcome you to the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE.

MR. FINER: Thank you!

MR. SPENCER: I believe you came over about a month ago, and I understand that in coming over you had some rather, shall we say, embarrassing experiences?

MR. FINER: The convoy was bombed. It was bombed at dawn, at dusk, and again at dawn. We had some excitement, certainly![1]

MR. YNTEMA: And you lived through the bombing of London, apparently. Did you find great difficulty in carrying on your university work?

MR. FINER: The universities are evacuated; but I lived in London, and I went between London and Cambridge, where I do my work.[2]

MR. YNTEMA: Do you have your own air-raid shelter?

MR. FINER: I have my own air-raid shelter in my garden—the ordinary type of shelter which everybody uses.

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[1] *Professor Finer came to the United States from Portugal on the "Siboney," which sailed from Lisbon on March 17.*

[2] *The London School of Economics and Political Science, the branch of the University of London with which Professor Finer is connected, has removed its students and staff to Cambridge.*

MR. SPENCER: You told us the other day about working on an index during an air raid. I'd like to know what your reactions to that sort of thing were while you were trying to do scholarly work.

MR. FINER: Well, it is perfectly all right and quiet until the bombers actually come very low and you know that very shortly bombs are going to drop. Then, if I may say so, there is a little want of concentration. I suppose the workers in industry find the same sort of thing.

MR. YNTEMA: Isn't there likely to be serious difficulty on the score of inefficiency caused by air raids, or are the workers managing to do their work well anyway?

MR. FINER: On the whole I think you may say that the amount of production reduced by the effect of air raids is small. It exists; but it is small, on the whole.

MR. SPENCER: Certainly British industries have done a considerable amount of work in the provision of recreation and activities to keep up morale during air raids.

MR. FINER: Yes, in factory canteens, in factory concerts, in the air-raid shelters that have to be provided; on the whole, the workman is well looked after.[3]

MR. YNTEMA: We have been reading something about the shortage of food in England. Is the situation as serious as reported?

MR. FINER: It is serious in regard to what you might call the luxuries and trimmings: the sweets, the savories, and things of that kind.

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[3] *For another "eyewitness" description of life in Great Britain in wartime, see the* ROUND TABLE *of December 8, 1940—"Is Hitler Revolutionizing Britain?"*

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MR. SPENCER: What were you eating the night that you were working on that index?

MR. FINER: I was eating a bread and cheese sandwich, and an onion, which is rather scarce and very savory.

MR. SPENCER: Do you still have luxuries, like onions?

MR. FINER: No, we don't. We shall have when the next harvest comes in, but those luxuries are reduced.

MR. YNTEMA: Is there a shortage of meat?

MR. FINER: There is a very great shortage of meat. The ration for meat is something less than a pound per week per person.

MR. SPENCER: I suppose in England you are primarily concerned (as we in this country shall eventually have to be if the situation becomes worse) with keeping up the efficiency of your fighting men and productive workers.

MR. FINER: That is so, and to do it, we give them the main articles of diet and leave out, as I say, the trimmings.

MR. YNTEMA: We haven't had to face the problem of leaving out trimmings in this country as yet.

MR. FINER: Heavens! When I come over here and see the groaning tables and all the varieties of food, I am glad to think that for some months I was actually slimming in England.

MR. YNTEMA: The most we seem to be short of is a few automobiles next year—perhaps.[4]

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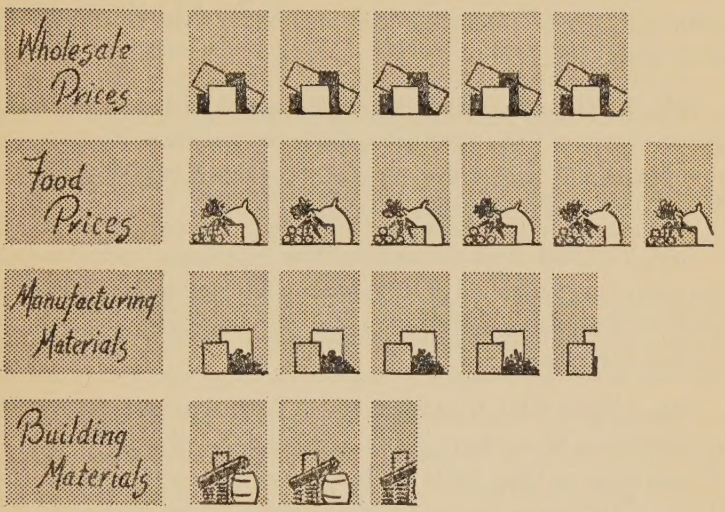
[4] *On April 17, William S. Knudsen, Director General of the Office of Production Management, announced that automobile and truck industry leaders had agreed to reduce their production 20 per cent (about one million cars and trucks), effective August 1, 1941. The reduction will be made, according to Mr. Knudsen's announcement, to make available more man-power, facilities, and management for "the growing defense production job that faces us."*

RISING PRICES IN BRITAIN

SEPTEMBER, 1939—NOVEMBER, 1940



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT RISE

MR. SPENCER: Many persons in this country are deeply concerned with how the war is going to affect our economic life.

MR. YNTEMA: And rightly so!

MR. SPENCER: Some think that it will destroy our system of free enterprise and that we shall never recover from it. We are very fortunate to have you here today to bring us firsthand information about the experience of England regarding the effects of the war on its institutions, its way of life, and on its economic order. I think, in connection with some of our problems in this country, we may find some light from the British experience.

Take for instance the question of the individual and employment opportunities. We all know, of course, that we are going to have to muster man-power for various needs during the emergency.

MR. YNTEMA: Of course, the mustering of man-power goes on in time of peace, too; but we do it through bargaining, through the open marketplace. In critical times of emergency we must resort to other methods, and must use that man-power more efficiently and more effectively.

MR. FINER: In Britain—considering the nature of the emergency—we have had to go very quickly beyond that. We have had to organize the market in such a way that men and material flow into the things we want to manufacture.

MR. YNTEMA: So far we have done it by forced means only in the case of the draft—we have drafted men for military service. But we have done nothing of that sort for the war industries or for the civilian industries.

MR. SPENCER: In other words, Yntema, you are saying that in America we do not have universal registration of all citizens and a classification of their skills so that we may know how to allocate them to the various needs as the emergency grows more tense.

MR. FINER: In Britain we did that a long time ago. We began with a regular registration for everybody, coupled with rationing.

MR. YNTEMA: Everyone carries a registration card?

MR. FINER: Yes, and you cannot get food without that card. The second thing was to register people according to occupations and skills. The third, of course, was by various devices to push them into the skills needed for the war.

MR. YNTEMA: That is just the question I wanted to ask. Britain is not relying upon bargaining in the open market to allocate labor to war industries and civilian industries. The government now takes a hand—does it?—in allocating these people.

MR. FINER: The government takes a very firm hand. It recog-

nizes certain industries as important. On the other hand, it cuts out certain industries that are unimportant.

MR. SPENCER: So far we have done very little in the way of bringing any pressure, directly or indirectly, upon our man-power; but certainly, sooner or later, if this situation grows worse we are going to have to do something comparable to what England has done.

MR. FINER: Britain definitely had to make her choice between the ordinary normal way of living and the very great changes necessary.

MR. YNTEMA: I would like your opinion on this question: If we were to engage in a defense effort comparable to Britain's, would the individual lose a great deal of his freedom in the choice of a job?

MR. FINER: He would lose some freedom, but it can be organized—as we have organized it—in such a way that he gets several alternatives both as to the place in which he is going to work and as to the kind of work he is going to do. That can be done in a democracy.

MR. SPENCER: Of course, one reason why we haven't gone as far as Finer indicates Britain has had to go is that—up to the present time at least—we have had a very large unemployment problem.

MR. YNTEMA: We still have it, Spencer!

MR. SPENCER: We still have a large number of unemployed persons.

MR. YNTEMA: Six or seven million!

MR. SPENCER: Unfortunately, most of the unemployed are not the skilled workers whom we need most; but as those people are drawn into industry and given their skills, then we are going to be up against the same problem England faced. That is the question of knowing where they are and allocating them to the various needs.

MR. YNTEMA: We still have a larger reserve, I note in passing. Our hours of work are still low enough so that we have a big reserve if people were to work longer hours.

MR. SPENCER: What is going to be the effect of the *blitzkrieg* on wages? After all, in the past, wages in this country have been matters of negotiation between employers and employees—to a very substantial extent at least. Is the effect of the *blitzkrieg* going to be that workers are deprived of the privilege, which they have traditionally enjoyed, of negotiating for their working conditions?

MR. YNTEMA: I think we have two problems there—three, perhaps. One is the problem of general government policy with respect to wages. A second is the question of what the government does in the way of balancing the budget—whether we are going to have inflation. A third has to do with the means by which wages are set in any particular environment. England, I understand, follows the policy of keeping wages down.

MR. FINER: Yes, the idea was to keep wages and prices down. We thought that was the best policy.

There was another point I think you wanted to raise—how this actually is accomplished.

MR. YNTEMA: Right!

MR. FINER: I mean, what do you think of it in terms of American possibilities?

MR. SPENCER: In this country, frankly, we have done practically nothing in the way of organizing our labor market with a view of making the needed skilled labor available to the different defense industries.

MR. YNTEMA: We are beginning to use the public labor exchanges more than previously.

MR. SPENCER: But we haven't gone as far as England in set-

TREND IN BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT

[LATEST AVAILABLE DATA]

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 100,000 REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED

ting up labor controls to allocate skilled power to the industries which need them.

MR. FINER: In England the whole thing is definitely organized from above. The Ministry of Labor has its divisional organizations; the divisional organizations have their smaller areas; and in the smaller areas are local worker committees. So the whole of the available labor mass is distributed to the greatest necessities. (*See illustration.*)

MR. SPENCER: In this country perhaps the problem of wages is not as serious as it is in Britain. Our wage rates for workers throughout our defense industries are, on the whole, high. Thousands of workers are getting employment now which they never had before, and the total wage bill of the country is up.

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* *Lowest figure since registration began in 1921.*

MR. YNTEMA: The total factory pay roll is up about one-third, and the individual worker is getting $3 or $4 a week more in his pay envelope.

MR. FINER: In England there has been, roughly, the same proportion of rise; and, roughly, the same proportion of rise in the cost of living. But a thing I would like to ask you is . . . .

MR. YNTEMA: Just a minute! You mean the same proportion of rise as we have had in this country?

MR. FINER: Yes; roughly the same.

MR. YNTEMA: Only 2 per cent?

MR. SPENCER: Do you mean the cost of living hasn't gone up any higher than ours has?

MR. FINER: I say the cost of living in England has gone up between 20 and 30 per cent. (*See illustration, page 5.*)

MR. SPENCER: In this country it has gone up only 2 to 5 per cent at the most, in relation to the real wages of our workers.

MR. YNTEMA: Yes, the total pay rolls have gone up by a third, and the average weekly earnings have gone up 5 to 10 per cent.

MR. FINER: The English workman hasn't gained anything out of the rise in wages. You would not expect him to in a war if he is pulling his weight.

MR. SPENCER: I understand that you are doing one thing in England which we, of course, are far from doing in this country. That is, to a considerable extent, you are controlling the cost of living by subsidizing the production of certain staples.

MR. FINER: We subsidize milk, bread, cocoa, potatoes, coal, electricity, and gas to the extent of £100,000,000 a year.

MR. YNTEMA: We subsidize the wage-earner here by giving

him a higher wage. There has been a wage-rate increase which would more than take care of the increase in cost of living.

MR. FINER: How about the hours of labor in this country? Have they gone up? What are they?

MR. YNTEMA: We have a legal maximum for hours of work, and so far the hours of work have gone up from perhaps an average of 38 to 40 or 41 hours a week.[5]

MR. FINER: Thirty-eight to 40 hours!

MR. SPENCER: You see, our law definitely establishes a 40-hour work-week, and unless employers are willing to pay overtime rates for overtime work they don't work them over 40 hours a week.

MR. FINER: Our men get overtime and are keen to do overtime.

MR. YNTEMA: How long do they work in England?

MR. FINER: Last year, after the fall of France, people were working 76 hours a week.

MR. YNTEMA: Seventy-six hours!

MR. FINER: Seventy-six. But, of course, it lent to absenteeism and spoiled work. Now the rule is to keep it down to 55 hours a week, which is the optimum, and we do that.

MR. SPENCER: Of course, another very serious problem concerns the movements which are taking place in this country affecting the traditional right of workers to strike. All over the country we are hearing proposals that in the interest of the defense program

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[5] *The Fair Labor Standards Act (the "Wage and Hour" law) was passed in 1938, and under its provisions the standard work-week is now 40 hours except in special industries and occupations exempted from the regulations of the act. Employees may work longer hours provided overtime is paid.*

we've got to do something to prevent stoppages of industry. I suspect at the present time that is the most bitterly contested question we face.

MR. YNTEMA: I think that was brought to a head by the coal strike. There is a real question when, by holding up coal production for three or four weeks, the coal miners and operators by failing to reach a negotiation not only crippled the coal industry but the steel and other defense industries. That sort of thing ought not to go on.[6]

MR. FINER: I arrived in America just at the time those great strikes were on, and nothing could have appeared more gloomy to me.

MR. SPENCER: So far, we haven't done anything to interfere with the right to strike beyond the creation of the supermediation board, which has intervened in many of our major disputes—and intervened, I might say, with considerable effectiveness.[7] But if we do not get substantial cooperation in the defense program on the part of labor leaders, I think we shall have legislation which will attempt to limit the right to strike.

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[6] *The coal strike, beginning in early April, was ended April 29 when southern coal operators agreed to resume production. On April 21, President Roosevelt had recommended to northern coal operators and miners (who had reached an agreement on wages) that they begin production and that southern operators and miners reopen the mines under an agreement to negotiate, with any agreement reached to be retroactive to the date of resuming work. This was the proposal eventually agreed to April 29.*

[7] *A National Mediation Board was set up in March to handle defense strikes certified to it by the Secretary of Labor: its members (appointed March 19) include three representatives of the public (one of which, Mr. Clarence Dykstra, Selective Service head, is its chairman), four employer representatives, and four representatives of workers.*

MR. FINER: Last July in Britain we abolished the right to strike. This was done, of course, by arrangement and consultation with labor and capital. We set up a national arbitration tribunal representing both sides in all disputes—not when there was a strike on, but while the thing was in a stage of dispute, all these were referred to an arbitration tribunal.

MR. SPENCER: Of course, in your country it is possible—if the situation becomes bad enough—for the government to take over an individual plant and operate it, and that makes it strictly legal.

MR. FINER: Under the Emergency Powers Act, these places can be scheduled and taken over.

MR. YNTEMA: Has that been necessary?

MR. FINER: It has not been necessary—not under those circumstances. But a point which interests me is whether you inspect the skill of the manager in relation to the workers which have been supplied for war purposes by all this organization of government.

MR. YNTEMA: Just what do you mean?

MR. FINER: Well, the organization—such as it is—provides skilled workers for certain kinds of industries. That is a precious thing.

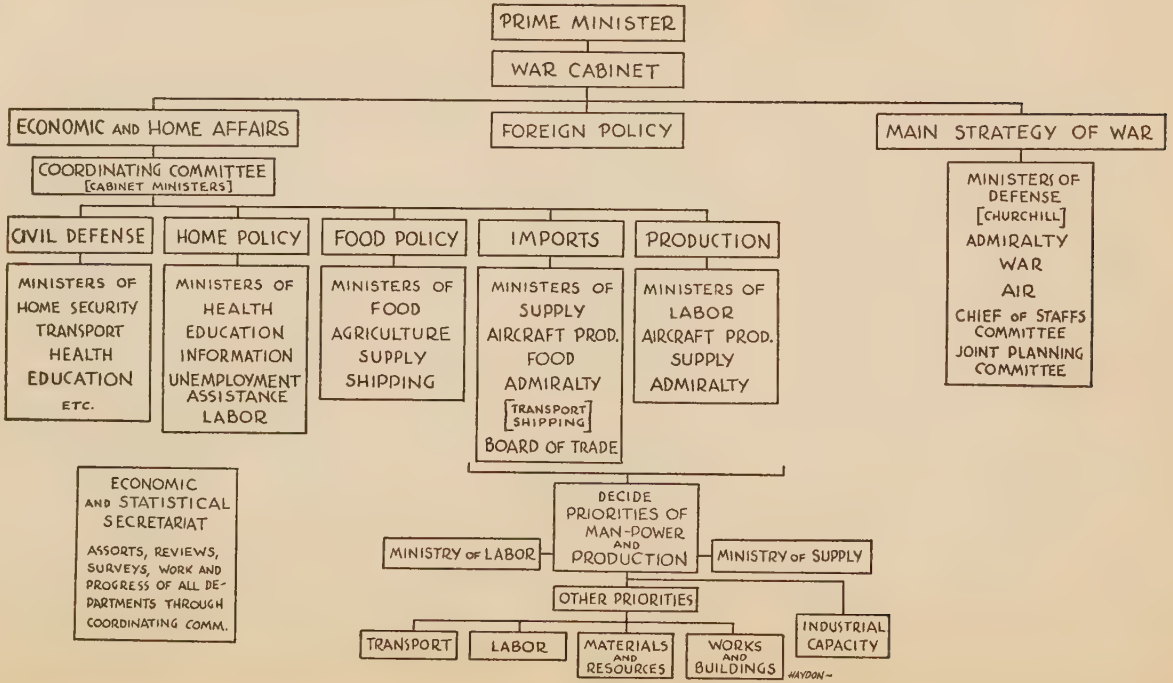
MR. YNTEMA: That's right!

MR. FINER: Does the government go into the factories and see whether the management are using that skilled work to the best capacity?

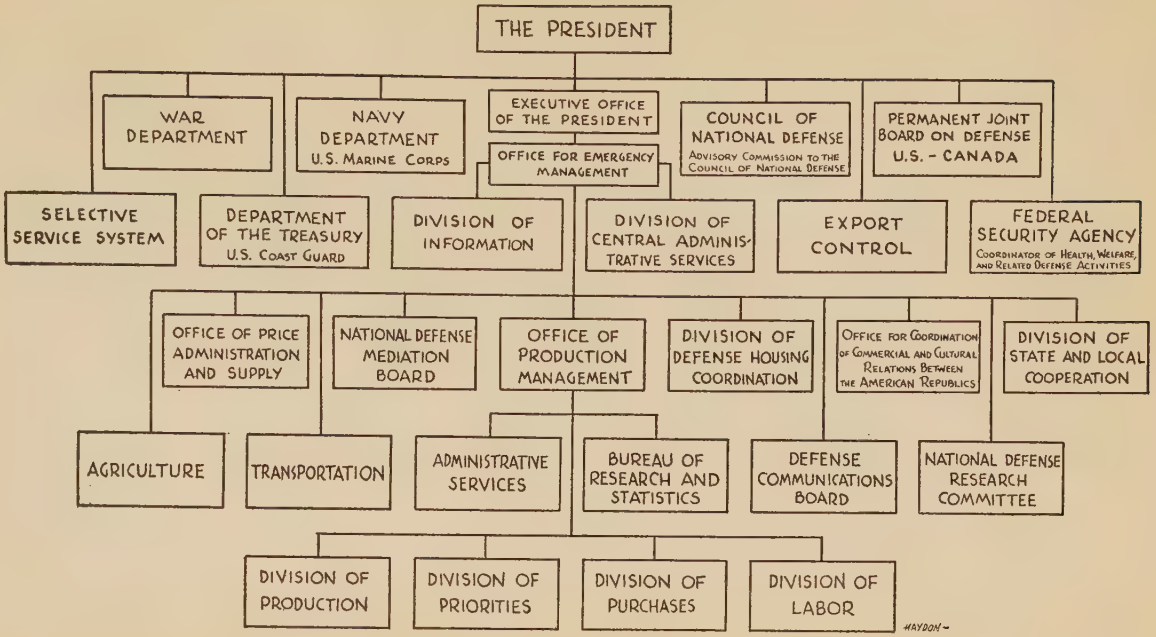
MR. YNTEMA: Just to this extent: in picking the plants to which it will grant defense orders, it very carefully inspects the quality of the management. It will take only such plants and management as can handle the contracts efficiently.

MR. FINER: In England we have continuous inspection.

ORGANIZED FOR WAR—GREAT BRITAIN, MAY, 1941



ORGANIZED FOR DEFENSE—UNITED STATES, MAY, 1941



MR. SPENCER: Is there any way of indicating to the American citizen what he is going to have to "cough up" in the matter of paying for this war? That is a problem which probably concerns the man in the street more than any other single thing. We hear about taxes, and we hear about this, and we hear about that.

MR. YNTEMA: So far we have just begun to get under way.

MR. SPENCER: Certainly! but it is true that we cannot wage a war without paying for it.

MR. YNTEMA: That's right! This year, from last June to next June, our total expense for national defense will probably be only $6,500,000,000; but it is rising at the rate of about $1,000,000,000 a month, so that the year following—that is, next June to the year after—it might run as much as $15,000,000,000 to $20,000,000,000.

MR. FINER: It depends on how seriously you take the matter.

MR. YNTEMA: That's right!

MR. FINER: In England we are spending on war and civil expenditure, roughly, four-fifths of all the country makes from all sources of income.

MR. SPENCER: What does that mean to the average individual? Let's take an individual who, say, is getting £500 a year, which is, roughly, $2,500 a year.

MR. FINER: Take an individual getting £500 a year, married, with two children: he will be paying 10 per cent to the central government.

MR. SPENCER: That is about $400 out of his $2,500.

MR. FINER: That's right! He will be paying about 8 per cent to his local government.

MR. SPENCER: There's another $200.

MR. FINER: And you can reckon 15 to 20 per cent on customs, excise, and so on.

MR. SPENCER: Another $500.

MR. YNTEMA: That is a little less than half of his total income, then.

MR. SPENCER: In other words, approximately $1,100. How does that compare with the situation in this country, Yntema?

MR. YNTEMA: In this country a person with an income of $2,500, a wife, and two children would pay—even under the new taxes—either nothing or a very nominal amount—perhaps $30 or 1 per cent. At the same time, if he is a wage-earner he is probably getting a much larger income than before; so he, in the net, is better off as things are now.

MR. SPENCER: We have to spend that much money in paying for the war, and undoubtedly in this country—as we already know now—the cost is going to increase and the individual is going to be asked to give up more and more in one way or another. How are we going to get it?

MR. YNTEMA: We will get the money to pay for the war in various ways. We will get it partly from taxes on corporation profits and partly from taxes on individuals.

MR. SPENCER: We are going to see that coming in the new tax bill next year.

MR. YNTEMA: Oh, yes! There will be taxes on automobiles and excise taxes.

MR. SPENCER: Every newspaper reader is trying to figure out how much he is going to have to pay next year in income tax.

MR. YNTEMA: I notice that President Roosevelt said in his speech at Staunton, Virginia (the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson),

that an effort would be made to see that the rich do not get richer and that the poor do not get poorer, but he might have pointed out that it looks as if the middle class at least is going to get *much* poorer.

MR. SPENCER: Another way we are going to do that, I suppose, is by keeping wages down, isn't it?

MR. YNTEMA: So far there hasn't been a great deal of emphasis in keeping wages down, but I think in the future we are going to see a shift in that direction.

MR. SPENCER: A letter sent to the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE asks if we should not eventually have to conscript the dollar? I take it that that is a form of forced saving. Finer, have you done anything of that sort in Britain?

MR. FINER: A measure actually passing through Parliament now arranges for a forced saving system. Take the instance of the $2,500-a-year man: out of the 15 per cent or £75 a year he pays in income tax, about £30 is forced saving and will be a re-gift to him after the war is over.

MR. SPENCER: We haven't done anything in this country yet to force savings. We are attempting to finance the war through what we call "voluntary savings," and that program is now under way.

MR. FINER: We do that, too. We have a tremendous campaign for voluntary savings. We prefer the voluntary method if possible. We could not do it merely by "forced" saving.

MR. YNTEMA: Are you also financing the war through inflation to some extent?

MR. FINER: There is a very small amount of inflation. No one knows the amount of it, but it is regarded simply as a small gap by the increased taxation, the increased savings, etc.

MR. YNTEMA: It looks as if we might perhaps take care of part of our war costs through inflation. That is, we are planning to cover only two-thirds of the total cost of our budget by taxation.

MR. SPENCER: Another question which is going to affect the economic order of the future is: What is going to happen as we stimulate and encourage and almost bribe plant expansion? We need it at the present time, but suppose this emergency passes some day: What are we going to do with that plant capacity when this is all over?

MR. YNTEMA: That is going to create some really serious problems if we have uncontrolled competition in those industries which have expanded their plants. They are going to be depressed, probably suffering an experience like the coal industry, and are likely to pass into government control.

There is another interesting phase of the English experience, I understand, that concerns the concentration of industry.

MR. FINER: Yes, that is coming about now. We are going to cut out the smaller and what we think to be the more inefficient units of civilian industry, to relocate all production in the larger industries. What will come after the war, we don't know; and, frankly, we don't care very much because we think we are capable of taking care of it.

MR. SPENCER: I suppose the problem is to win the war first and then hope to take steps after the war to reorganize the economic order with a view to getting back some of the things we have cherished in the past.

MR. FINER: *All* of them!

MR. SPENCER: If we allocate man-power we've got to allocate raw materials; and if we set up the machinery for the allocation of man-power and the allocation of raw materials we are creating a

situation which we may not be able to demobilize when this is all over.

MR. YNTEMA: I think you have put your finger on something there. One of the really critical problems is: How are we going to handle these war controls? Are we going to handle them through temporary emergency measures or are we going to get them integrated with permanent functions of the government? The recommendation of Baruch, and others who have studied this problem, is that they ought to be temporary agencies and ought to be abolished when the emergency is over.

MR. SPENCER: Your contact with the Defense Council in Washington should make it possible for you to express an opinion on the extent to which we have gone in organization for the purpose of attaining our ends.

MR. YNTEMA: Well, so far I would deplore the extent to which we have gone. It seems to me we have done much too little in the way of effective organization. (*See illustration, page 15.*) In order to get a big job done it is necessary to delegate responsibility and to delegate authority. So far I don't think there has been evidence that it has been done on the scale it ought to have been done. Roosevelt ought to delegate his authority and responsibility for action to people who are willing to take hold.

MR. SPENCER: What is happening in England with respect to organization?

MR. FINER: I am glad to say that, though we started slowly because we did not realize the urgency of this type of war (it is a time-tabled war), by successive stages, and under the pressure of public opinion on Parliament, we have gotten an organization which centralizes the main strategic decisions and passes the subsidiary questions down through various ministerial committees which pass them on right away through industry to the various branches of in-

dustry with which the men and employers are both concerned. (*See illustration, page 14.*)

MR. SPENCER: That is very significant because after all is said and done we are interested in the British experience—not only because we are interested in Britain, but because we want to know whether we must interpret or look at our own future in terms of Britain's experience. If you have set up this machinery to control the division of raw materials and the division of man-power, aren't we facing the same sort of necessity? Aren't you now subjecting the individual to the type of control to which the dictatorial countries are subjecting the individual?

MR. FINER: I would rather say that the individual, through his democratic organization, is subjecting himself willingly and happily to the necessities of maintaining liberties.

MR. YNTEMA: Yes, but we are in for more of that, aren't we?

MR. FINER: In the United States?

MR. YNTEMA: Yes.

MR. SPENCER: Of course, we are merely engaged in a defense program. I suppose if we get into an actual war (which we hope we shall be able to avoid) there isn't any doubt that to some extent we shall have to travel the road which Britain has traveled.

MR. FINER: The pace and the thoroughness of organization must be dependent entirely upon your view of the urgency. From our point of view, I may say the urgency is extremely great.

MR. YNTEMA: Suppose we were to engage in a war-defense program aggregating $20,000,000,000 a year—a quarter of our national income. Wouldn't we have to have a good many of the same sorts of controls which Britain has developed?

MR. FINER: I think so. In fact, I may say without immodesty, I am certain!

MR. SPENCER: Again I raise the question of whether, if we travel in that direction, we may not be warping our economic organization to such an extent that as a long-run proposition we shall not be able to restore it.

MR. YNTEMA: We did the same sort of thing in 1917 and 1918; not quite so far perhaps.

MR. SPENCER: Do you think we went anywhere near as far in 1917 and 1918 as we shall have to go if this emergency continues to grow more serious?

MR. YNTEMA: That depends upon how serious it grows.

MR. FINER: I come, as you know, from a nation which is a battlefield, an everyday battlefield. We are in the front line.

MR. SPENCER: We may be a battlefield, too, Finer!

MR. FINER: From our point of view, the question is to win the war first, and we surely think that we are men of sufficient individual and libertarian temper to reorganize ourselves as we require it when the war is over.

MR. SPENCER: Not only, however, have you preserved at least the privilege of consulting the public in the matter of your policies, and consulting your labor organizations as to the part they should play, but you still have retained in England—according to all reports I can get—a very substantial amount of freedom of speech and freedom of discussion.

MR. FINER: Enormous! It is impossible to overestimate it! You can't root out century-old tempers and traditions of civil liberties and economic liberty in the course of a war of this kind.

MR. YNTEMA: I am much impressed, just the same, by the question Spencer has raised. In forging the tools for control you are making available the instruments which a dictatorship could

use for control of the populace, and people in a democratic country must be careful, must be wary, lest that power become permanently centralized in the hands of their rulers.

MR. SPENCER: I think that depends upon the people themselves. If the people are sufficiently intelligent, and if they have a deep and abiding faith in democracy as such . . . .

MR. YNTEMA: And interest!

MR. SPENCER: . . . . and interest in democracy, and insist upon a return of those powers, I do not believe that the machinery which we are setting up at the present time will be beyond demobilization when the time comes.

MR. FINER: I am certain of it!

MR. YNTEMA: We must be alive to that!

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What is the meat ration per person per week in Great Britain? Page 4.
2. What are the three steps by which England has directed labor into its war industries? Page 6.
3. What is the estimate of unemployment in this country given by Professor Yntema? Page 7.
4. Compare the rises in costs of living and wages in England and in America in the last twenty months. Pages 5 (*cut*), 10.
5. What items of food and general supply are now subsidized in Great Britain, and what is the annual amount of the subsidy? Page 10.
6. In the summer of 1940, after the fall of France, Britishers were working how many hours a week in the war industries? At the present time the work-week is approximately how long? Page 11.
7. How does the British work-week (see the previous question) compare with the average American work-week? Page 11.
8. Summarize the way Great Britain mediates labor disputes and work stoppages. Page 13.
9. American defense expenditures are running at what figure at the present time? What figure is predicted for next year? Page 16.
10. Contrast the income tax paid in Britain by a man with £500 a year salary and that paid in America on a $2,500-a-year income. Pages 16–17.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 26.

*

1. Summarize the "conditions of employment" in America today with those of two years ago. In what specific ways—in terms of hours, wages, and working conditions—do you think the summer of 1941 will differ from the summer of 1939? To what extent do you feel these changes are due to the European war?

2. England has found it necessary to register and control industry and labor to insure a maximum war effort. Do you believe similar measures will be needed in this country if we are to enter upon an "all-out" defense program? If so, indicate what you think ought to be the nature of these measures and when, where, and how they should be applied.

3. Contrast the way strikes are handled in Great Britain with the way they are handled in this country. Do you feel we should follow the British example? Discuss.

4. Estimate the over-all cost of the British war effort and compare it to the cost of America's defense program. How has the war effort affected the average Britisher? Compare this with the way the average American's pocketbook has been affected.

5. Government and industrial organization for war production has been a matter of great concern to both Britons and Americans. Compare the charts of organization on pages 14 and 15. What do you feel America can learn, if anything, from British experiences in this matter of organization?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BRAILSFORD, H. N., "Communal Meals in England," *New Republic*, March 24, 1941. *One result of the Nazi air and sea blitzkrieg described in a special dispatch from London.*

CHERNE, LEO M.; NATHAN, ROBERT; GIDEONSE, HARRY, *Guns or Butter?* A University of Chicago ROUND TABLE broadcast, February 16, 1941, *describing the possible effect upon the American consumer in the event of an all-out defense effort.*

DRUCKER, PETER F., "Poor Man's War," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 20, 1940. *The European conflict described as an "all-out" war, carried on with sacrifices to compensate for lack of materials and resources.*

FLEMING, H. M., "Don't Expect Inflation," *Harper's*, September, 1940. *Inflation and popular fears of high prices debunked as impossible when government plans indicate strong controls over the whole economy in the interest of war production.*

SCHUBART, W. H., "War and America," *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1941. *An analysis of some of the economic repercussions felt in England and Germany as a result of the war with reference to the effects America has experienced or may expect to experience in the future.*

SOULE, GEORGE, "Fear of Plenty," *New Republic*, March 31, 1941. *How America's workers, farmers, and businessmen fear the present defense boom may cut their wages and profits when the war is over.*

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

*

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New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1250	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150

1:30 P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1300	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	1370
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1240
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930			

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450			

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1340	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLV	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
111. *Where's That War Boom?*
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113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
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138. *Polls and the Election*
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142. *The Soviet Union and America*
143. *Is Hitler Revolutionizing Britain?*
144. *Where Are Those 50,000 Planes?*
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158. *Defense Economics*
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Defense and America's Health

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

MAY 11, 1941

COL. LEONARD ROWNTREE, Chief, Medical Division, National Selective Service Headquarters

LOUIS WIRTH, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

ARTHUR BACHMEYER, Associate Dean of the Biological Sciences; Director of the University Clinics, University of Chicago

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"Fitness for National Defense," *Science News Letter,* October 12, 1940.

GOSLIN, R. C., and GOSLIN, O. P., "Health: A First Line of Defense," *Scholastic,* September 30, 1940.

KAEMPFFERT, WALDEMAR, "The Health Record in 1940," *Science Digest,* May, 1941.

"National Defense and Public Health," *American Journal of Public Health,* March, 1941.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.